Gouvernement
du Québec
C.I.P.A.C.C.
Comité pour l'implantation
du plan d'action à l'intention
des Communautés culturelles

A PROFILE OF THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING BLACK COMMUNITY IN QUEBEC

BY

LOUISE WARNER

Novembre 1983

515, rue Ste-Catherine ouest,
Suite 400
Montréal, Québec QC
H3B 1B4

(514) 873-5633

Édifice H
875, Grande-Allée est
2e étage, suite 2319
Québec, QC
G1R 4Y8
643-8540

This profile of the English speaking Black Community of Quebec may be reproduced or quoted provided that credit is given to the author and publisher. Copies, in English or French may be obtained by contacting:

Mr. Jacques Johnson, Secr.
CIPACC
515 Ste-Catherine West
Suite 400
Montréal, Qué.
H3B 1B4

Tél: 873-5633

The opinions expressed in this document are the responsibility of the author.

Dépôt légal
Bibliothèque nationale du Québec
ISBN 2-550-10522-2

Montreal, November 1983

FORWARD

What follows is a brief introduction to one of the cultural communities that has received little attention.

CIPACC's objective in commissioning this profile was to paint a general portrait of the English-speaking Black community based primarily on existing information with statistics on education, working conditions and other relevant variables.

While historic and social research has started to be done on Black Canadians outside of Quebec, in Ontario and Nova Scotia in particular, there has never been any sort of overall survey of Black people in contemporary Quebec. There are no exact figures on population, income, education or ethnicity. A real profile would start with this kind of information, analyze it and then go on to develop a picture of the community. Consequently, if real knowledge is sought on the English-speaking Black population, research must be done. Suggestions for areas of further inquiry are mentioned throughout this paper.

A complete profile of this community would be impossible for one researcher to prepared in the context of a project of a few weeks. This profile is incomplete. Many people - experts and leaders - were not contacted. Many organizations doing

valuable work have not been included. Nevertheless, this paper will definitely provide a needed glance at a community that has for too long been invisible.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1	Historical Background	1
Chapter 2	Who are the English-speaking Blacks of Quebec?	13
Chapter 3	Notes on Adaptation and Integration	23
Chapter 4	Community Organizations	34
	Annotated Bibliography	51
	References and Resources	56

CHAPTER 1

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The history of Black people in Quebec began with the arrival of the first non-native peoples to these shores. In 1629, a young boy from Madagascar landed in New France. He was a slave, the property of one David Kirk, a member of the occupying British forces of that time. He was later sold to Olivier le Tardif, chief clerk of New France, and subsequently given as a gift to the Couilllard family who sent him to a school run by the Jesuit priest, Père LeJeune. As an adult, he combined the names of his first owner and first teacher and called himself Olivier LeJeune.[1]

While LeJeune appears to be the first person of African origin to have set foot in what is now Quebec, he was certainly not the first Black person in New France. Mathieu da Costa arrived in Port Royal in 1606 as a member of the Poutrincourt-Champlain expedition. He worked for the French as an interpreter of the Micmac language (a fact that suggests at least one prior visit). He participated in the construction and establishment of the settlement at Port Royal, died and was buried there.[2]

---

[1] Trudel, Marcel L'Esclavage au Canada Français
Presses Universitaires Laval, Québec, 1960, p. 3-5

[2] Berteley, Leo Canada and Its People of African Descent
Bilongo Publishers, Pierrefonds, 1977 p.

Slavery continued to exist without any legal framework until 1689, when Louis XIV, acceding to the demands of the then governor, Jacques René de Brisay, Marquis de Denonville, consented to the importation of African slaves to work in agriculture. In 1709 the intendant Jacques Raudot issued a decree confirming the slave status of all Blacks and panis (Amerindian slaves) who had been purchased and providing a fine of 50 pounds for any person found guilty of helping a slave to escape.[3,4] In 1736, the intendant Gilles Hocquart issued several regulations governing the manumission of slaves which, in effect, eliminated any form of verbal agreement by requiring a notarized certificate and central registry for each freed slave.[5] In 1759, it is estimated, there were 1,132 Black slaves in New France (out of a total of 4000 slaves who were mostly Panis) of whom half lived in the Montreal region. Approximately 962 families were owners, for the most part doctors, notaries, governors and some clergymen. In general the slaves were domestic workers and something of a luxury. Few families could afford more than two or three of these "labour-saving devices".[6]

---

[3] Trudel op.cit. p. 40-45

[4] Winks, Robin The Blacks in Canada McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal, 1971 p. 5-6

[5] Trudel op.cit. p. 46

[6] ibid p.87-89

Although the practice of slavery was not very widespread in New France, it was not without its incidents of drama and even heroism. On a spring day in 1734, Marie-Joseph-Angélique learned that she was about to be sold. The young slave woman, property of the wealthy widow Mme.de Francheville, had been hoping to marry her fiancé. On the night of April 11, the distraught woman protested her chattel's fate by setting fire to the de Francheville home on St. Paul street. The resulting conflagration destroyed 46 buildings, including a church, a convent and the Hôtel Dieu. She was imprisoned and tortured; she is reported to have withstood her torments courageously. Finally, in June, the outraged citizenry had the opportunity to see her paraded through the streets in a garbage cart before she was publicly hanged, her body burned and her ashes scattered in the wind.[7]

With the installation of the British regime, the institution of slavery was reinfored as the early colonial administrations favored the expansion of slavery. In 1763, military governor General James Murray wrote to his colleague in New York: "Without servants nothing can be done and Canadians will work for nobody but themselves... Black slaves are certainly the only people to be depended upon...".[8] British law confirmed and strengthened

---

[7] Trudel op.cit. p.226-228

[8] Greaves, Ida The Negro in Canada McGill University Economic Studies, McGill University, Montreal, 1930. p.11

the property rights of slave owners. In legislation passed to encourage immigration to British North America, one article specifically allowed the importation of "Negroes, household furniture, utensils of husbandry or clothing."[9] The same law discouraged the immigration of free Blacks.

During the period after the American Revolutionary War, Loyalists introduced a new population of Black slaves to Lower Canada. At the same time, the legislative process that eventually brought an end to the institution began. In 1793, deputy Pierre-Louis Panet introduced a bill to abolish slavery in the Lower Canada legislature. The bill died on the order paper.[10] Five years later, the chief judge of Montreal, James Monk, ordered the liberation of two slaves on the basis of a legal technicality. In his decision he gave notice to slave owners that he intended to apply the same interpretation to free other slaves in the future. Concerned about "property values", as it were, Assembly members Joseph Papineau and John Black presented a long petition in April 1799, demanding a clarification of the legal status of slaves.[11] Later in the same year, James Monk delivered another decision which effectively made slavery impracticable. It concerned the case of Robin vs Fraser. Robin, a slave who had fled owner Fraser's farm, was allowed to remain free on the erroneous grounds

---

[9] Winks op.cit. p.26

[10] Trudel op.cit. p. 327

[11] Winks, op.cit. p.101

that the Imperial Act of 1797 had abolished legislation on slavery. In effect, the burden of proof of ownership was placed on the slave-holder. In spite of the legalistic inconsistency, this decision stood and slavery gradually died out in the province.[12]

From the beginning of the 19th century, American Black slaves sought refuge in Canada. The Underground Railroad was first mentioned in 1831. It was a collection of people in the U.S. who helped slaves escape, at first to the northern states of the U.S. and later to Canada. After the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850, the number of slaves escaping to Canada increased dramatically. A conservative estimate is that 30,000 of these people had gone to Ontario by 1860.[13] Other estimates go as high as 60,000.[14] The historical works consulted here do not mention the presence of the Underground Railroad in Quebec or indeed, of any Black settlement in the province after the end of slavery. Members of the local Black community are aware that the Underground Railroad had a "station" at Farnham. A cemetary for the fugitives is still marked by a large stone given the name of "Nigger Rock". Some members of the present community trace their ancestry to this period.[15]

---

[12] ibid. p.12

[13] ibid. p. 240

[14] Bertley op.cit. p.82

[15] Conversation with members of the Quebec Black Historical Society

Throughout the nineteenth century, there was a small Black population in Quebec. There is one estimate of 142 Black slaves in Montreal alone in 1804.[16] Inasmuch as there had been manumissions and migration of free Black Loyalists as well as refugees from American slavery, this figure cannot be assumed to represent the total Black population. In summary, all that can be said about this period is that there must have been a Black population resident in Montreal through this century. The fate of the descendants of the Quebec slaves remains a gap in our knowledge of Black history and Quebec history. What was their social economic and legal status after slavery? Did they remain in Quebec and become assimilated into the larger population or did they leave, and if so, why? The answers to these questions, even though dealing with a small group of people, would shed a great deal of light on the background of this society in which we continue to deal uneasily with the presence of racial minorities.

In the 1880's, a new era in Black settlement began when rail lines connecting Montreal to New York and New England were completed. It was a period which saw the establishment of the core of what is now Montreal's English-speaking Black community. With the introduction of the Pullman sleeping-car service came the railway

---

[16] Israel, Wilfred The Montreal Negro Community Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of Sociology, McGill University, Montreal, 1928.

porters, who were traditionally Black. Canadian Pacific established its employment centre in Montreal as did Canadian National, for its Atlantic and Central divisions. There followed a migration of Black people to Montreal to work on the trains. They came from the United States, the West Indies, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Ontario.

By 1897 Black people were resident in several Montreal neighbourhoods: de Maisonneuve, Park Avenue, Amherst, Papineau, NDG, Ville Emard, Cote St. Paul and Verdun. However, the highest concentration was to be found in the area around St. Antoine Street now known as Little Burgundy and St. Henri. Even at this time, the area was starting to be known as the "Black district" (although at no time in its history were Black people a majority).[17]

Until World War I, most of the new Black residents were American and there is one estimate that by 1917 half of Montreal's Black population was born in the U.S.[18] The growing numbers of West Indian immigratns constituted a small "wave". Many had first settled in Nova Scotia while others came directly from the West Indies. Whatever conditions had been left behind, the new residents faced a relatively closed society, in which all the men worked as porters and all the women who left their own homes, did so to work as domestics. It was not uncommon for skilled tradesmen to find that the only living to be earned was as a porter.

---

[17] Israel op.cit.

18 ibid

Black people from across Canada fought in World War I, even though there was controversy over their acceptance in many sectors of the Armed Forces. Indeed, many officers categorically refused to accept Black enlistees.[19] Nevertheless, the small Black community of Montreal produced at least forty veterans, as evidenced by the Honour Roll at Union United Church.

By 1930, a Black community of at least 3000 had developed in Montreal.[20, 21] The official census figure of 935 "Negroes" was generally assumed by students of the population and community leaders to be a serious undercount.[22] The community was based in the "Black district previously mentioned. It was an area of low incomes and poor housing that was beginning to be characterized by neglectful, absentee landlords and high death rates. Its reputation in the rest of the city was poor. Ninety percent of the Black men were railway porters or red caps, while more than eighty percent of the women who worked outside the home were domestics. No white men would take the porters' jobs until decades later when working conditions were greatly improved. In addition, almost all other areas of employment were closed tc Black men. A small but significant number of university-educated

---

[19]Winks, op.cit. p. 314-320

[20]Israel op.cit.

[21]Greaves, op.cit. p. 51

[22]ibid. The undercount is fully discussed here.

men spent their entire working lives as porters. In spite of the dead-end quality of the work, the stable employment and steady incomes supported the establishment of a settled, organized community.

By 1930, several Black organizations had been founded, some of which survive to the present day. The Couloured Women's Club, an organization which is still active, was founded in 1902. Union Church, the oldest and largest of the Black congregations here, was founded in 1907. The Universal Negro Improvement Assocaition was large and influential at this time, part of an international Black development movement. At the peak of its influence, in the 1920's and 1930's, it was a major Black organization with membership and activity in the U.S., The West Indies and Canada. There were groups to promote educational and literary pursuits, such as the Dunbar Literary Club and the Phyllis Wheatley Society (Phyllis Wheatley was the name of an American Black slave woman who, in the face of a possible death penalty for learning to read and write, became one of that country's accomplished poets). The Porters' Mutual Benefit Society, the fraternal orders - the Odd Fellows, Elks, Household of Ruth - provided social aid such as sick and death benefits to their members in addition to a wide variety of social, educational and cultural activities.[23] The Coloured Political and Protective Association was one of the earliest groups to fight for improvement in the status of the Black community. They took several civil liberties test cases to court.

---

[23] Israel op.cit.

One of their battles involved the Loew's Theatre in 1919. The manager had refused to allow two Black people to sit in the orchestra seats. The case went to the Court of Appeal where the decision ultimately went in favor of the theatre on the grounds that the owner of an enterprise is entitled to make rules governing its operation as long as the rules do not violate "public order". [24]
The Negro Community Centre was founded in 1928 and is now an important community organization. In addition , there were two cricket clubs and a baseball team.

The Depression brought serious hardship to a community which was already economically deprived. Many families were forced to rely on the charity of those who held onto their railway jobs. During this decade, immigration dwindled to an insignificant trickle.

With World War II came a new period of development.
Many Black volunteers were rejected by the armed forces solely on the grounds of their race and some recruiters refused West Indian students entry into the officer training programmes on the grounds that they were not "British subjects".
In 1941, Reverend Charles Este of Union United Church formally protested the racist policies of the Navy. As the war progressed and protest mounted, the armed forces opened up and Black people served as both officers and other ranks in the Army. Air Force and Navy.

---

[24] Greaves op.cit. p 62-63

[25] Winks, op.cit. p. 42.

The war effort also opened up new work opportunities. It was at this time that the children of the sleeping car porters began to branch out into other forms of employment. By 1941, the percentage of Black men working as porters had dropped to a half.[26]

The National Selective Service, a federal government manpower and employment agency, was formed during the war. At first the Black community complained that the Service was placing them exclusively in menial jobs, regardless of hte qualifications of the applicant. Indeed, the director of the Montreal service is reported to have told protesting Black community leaders that Black workers were "unreliable, worthless" and of "low I.Q."27 The community protested. At least one mass meeting was held and a protest deputation was sent to Ottawa in 1941. As a result, the National Selective Service director involved placed several people in office jobs almost immediately and a relatively more open but still restricted employment policy developed.[28]

With the end of the war a new period of immigration from the English-speaking Carribbean began. Along with other minorities, the community fought for liberalization of the country's immigration laws. Debates during this time reflected a public opinion fearful of non-white immigration.[29]

---

[26] Potter, Harold The Occupational Adjustments of Montreal Negroes, 1941-1948. unpublished M.A. thesis. Department of Sociology, McGill University, Montreal, 1949 p. 29

[27] ibid p. 71-72

[28] ibid p. 69-76

[29] Winks, op.cit. p. 434-445

During the sixties, Canadian immigrations laws underwent drastic change. By 1967 all of the official discriminatory regulations were eliminated (eg. references to climatic adaptability) and a points system based on education, skill, and other personal characteristics was instituted. The rate of immigration from the West Indies increased dramatically.

This wave of immigrants differed from previous groups in that they were a highly educated, primarily middle class group. They had worked as teachers, clerks, civil servants, were ambitious and status conscious. They arrived with attitudes, expectations and orientations different from those of previous generations of West Indians and Black Canadians. Their approach to social and political problems tended to be more "activist"[30]
This new outlook, coupled with the sheer force of rapidly growing numbers, developed a new era in Black community life. With the seventies, many new organizations were forming, with old organizations expanding and changing orientations.
For the first time, the larger Montreal society began to become aware of the Black presence in its midst.

---

30 Handelman, Don West Indian Associations in Montreal. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of Sociology, McGill University, 1964 p. 50-57

Chapter 2

WHO ARE THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING BLACKS OF QUEBEC?

A frequently asked question with regard to the Black community, and one which is never answered definitively, is, "How many?". Another question, less often posed because the answer is so often assumed, is, "Where are they from?". In order to prove the kind of information that would accurately respond to these questions, a major study of the Black population involving a census-like survey would have to be undertaken. Thus, it is beyond the scope of this paper to provide precise figures regarding the size and ethnic make-up of the English-speaking Black community. Nevertheless, this section will attempt to briefly examine some of the factors to be considered in evaluating the population.

The Canadian census has never categorized people by racial origin. Rather, people have been classified by "nationality" or "ethnic origin", terms which do not identify the racial origin. People of African descent have been described in the census as "Negro", "Various" or "Other", "British" and, most recently, "African".[1] In the early part of this century, Black people from

---

[1] Statistics Canada 1981 Census of Canada

Note: A Statistics Canada information officer confirmed that the designation "African" was meant to refer to all people of African descent, regardless of their birthplace or nationality.

the United States were classified as "Negro" while Black people from the West Indies were not. Jamaicans and Haitians of African descent were classifed as "Various". In situations of interracial marriage, often the entire household, including the Black parent, was classified according to the nationality of the White parent.[2]

Thus, since the first headcounts began in the nineteenth century, the Canadian census has never provided reliable figures on the numbers of people of African descent living in this country. In Montreal, from 1928, reliable estimates made by community institutions, researchers and other authoritative observers, have consistently placed the Black population at double to triple the figure given in the Census.[3,4]

The Montreal Gazette may have exaggerated in 1869 when it reported that there were ten times as many Black people in the City as reported in the Census.[5] However, by 1930, when the Census recorded 935 Black people in Montreal, reliable estimates consistently were in the area of 3000.[6]

Over the years, the ethnic make-up of the Black population has varied. In 1921 it was estimated that 32% of Black Montrealers were born in Canada, 23% in the United States and 45% elsewhere, primarily the West Indies.[7] Throughout the thirties, when

---

[2] Ida Greaves The Negro in Canada op.cit. p.51

[3] Wilfred Israel The Montreal Negro Community op.cit.

[4] Ida Greaves op.cit. p.44-52

[5] Robin Winks The Blacks in Canada op.cit.

immigration from the West Indies had dwindled to a trickle due to restrictive regulations and practices, there was a significant movement of Black Nova Scotians to the city.

Immigration from the West Indies picked up again following World War II. In fact, between the end of the War and 1959, Black immigration to Canada averaged at least 310 persons per year.[8] (This is a conservative figure in that, as has been mentioned, the term "Negro" was not used when referring to some West Indians, Jamaicans in particular). Throughout this period, about 60% of these people came to Quebec, almost exclusively to Montreal and its environs.[9] At the same time thousands of Nova Scotians migrated to Quebec very year, 3060 in 1961 alone.[10] Students of Black Nova Scotian society have estimated that Black people make up approximately 3% of the total population of the province[11] and, given the lack of economic opportunity for Black people in that province, it seems reasonable to assume that at least this proportion of Nova Scotian migrants to this province were Black.

---

[6]Greaves op.cit.

[7]Israel op.cit.

[8]Canada, Ministry of Immigration and Citizenship. Immigration Statistics 1956-65

[9] ibid

[10]Statistics Canada, International and Interprovincial Migration in Canada.

[11]Henry, Frances Forgotten Canadian: The Blacks of Nova Scotia. Longman Canada Ltd. Don Mills, 1973 p.32-33

With the implementation of new immigration laws in the mid-sixties, there was a large increase in migration from the West Indies with the result that at least half of the current Black populations arrived during this period.

As has been discussed, the Canadian Census does not provide us with accurate information on the numbers of Black people in the country. The 1981 census lists 6220 "Africans" resident in the province of Quebec.[12] This is a figure greeted with shock, disbelief and derision by leaders and others familiar with the community. In 1978, the Consultative Committee of the Ministry of Immigration of Quebec estimated that there were 85,000 Black people in the province, including anglophones and francophones.[13] The most recent estimate available was prepared by the Black Community Council of Quebec and places the total Black population at 120,000 with approximately 90,000 anglophones.[14]

---

12 Statistics Canada. 1981 Census of Canada

13 Black Community Work Group, Final Report on theAspirations and Expectations of the Quebec Black Community with Regard to Education Report submitted to the Conseil Supérieur d'Education. Montreal, 1978. p.8

14 Black Community Council of Quebec, Profile of the Black Community in Quebec Report submitted to the Ministry of Multiculturalism, February, 1982

Based on an analysis of immigration statistics, past population estimates, and assuming rates of natural increase equivalent to those shown for the Canadian population as a whole,[15] the following ethnic breakdown is proposed as a reasonable estimate. About half of the English-speaking Blacks in the province migrated from the Caribbean after 1966. Another 25% came from the same region between World War II and 1966. Approximately 20% of othe population is Canadian-born. Half of the Canadians are first, second and third generation descendants of those who settled in the city prior to 1930. Ten to 20% were probably born in, or are descended from, prople who migrated from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick while the rest are first and second generation descendants of West Indians who migrated after World War II. Finally, there are those who migrated from the Caribbean prior to 1930. These figures are rough estimates given as a guide to the length of residence of the various components of the population. As will be discussed briefly, the period of migration may have social and cultural implications within the community. Inasmuch as people from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are not immigrants, statistics regarding their presence are not available but must be estimated on the basis of overall inter-provincial migration. Consequently, this component of the Black population may be underestimated.

---

[15] Kubat, Daniel and Thornton, David, A Statistical Profile of Canadian Society. McGraw-Hill Ryeron Ltd. Toronto, 1974. p.18

For all intents and purposes, the entire English-speaking Black population of Quebec is resident in the Montreal area. Small numbers of individuals reside elsewhere in the province, but in numbers too small to constitute a community. Black people have never been a majority of the population in any sector of the city and this situation is the same today. Nevertheless, concentrations of Black people can be found in certain neighbourhoods and municipalities. The BCCQ profile indicates that 36% of the population is in Cote des Neiges and the surrounding area, 20% in LaSalle, 25% in and around NDG, 9% in Little Burgundy and downtown with another 10% divided between the West Island and the South Shore.[16] There are other pockets in St.Laurent, Chomedy, Verdun and south-west Montreal in general.

Figures regarding age, family configuration, occupation and income would be invaluable. In light of the unavailability of statistics, information in this area tends to be impressionistic. With the relatively high proportion of recent immigrants, there is a large percentage of the community made up of families with children. Nevertheless, groups providing services to the community are becoming increasingly concerned about the situation of the elderly, a growing proportion of the Black population.

---

[16] Black Community Council of Quebec op.cit. p.2

In the absence of statistics, it is impossible to make definite statements about occupation and income. I t is generally recognized that the community is primarily working class with moderate to low incomes. The income levels are probably reflected by residential distribution, with more than half the population in the relatively low rent areas of Cote des Neiges and LaSalle. While there are highly visible concentrations of Black people in certain occupations and services - the health services stand out as an example - it would be misleading to generalize on the basis of these groups as they may be a small proportion of the overall population. Although the majority may be low to moderate income earners, an important proportion is made of the educated middle class who appear to be concentrated somewhat in education and social services. Again, inasmuch as these are high profile sectors, no firm conclusions can be drawn. The numbers of independent professionals are relatively small, but are considerable larger than they have been in the past.

Unemployment appears to be a growing problem. Community workers express concern over joblessness among young and in particular, long term unemployment.

In summary, while it is not possible to paint a detailed picture of the economic and occupational characteristics of the community, it can be said that it is not a prospersous community and, in fact, many are starting to worry about a worsening situation of unemployment.

The English-speaking Black community is multi-ethnic. The term, "West Indies" groups together several countries which vary in geography, degree of urbanization, historic background, economic development, and availability of social and educational services. A person from a large, modern city such as Port of Spain, has left behind a reality very different from that found in rural St. Lucia, for example. Many people continue to identify closely with their countries of origin when they first arrive here. An understanding of the differences to be found within the West Indies might be useful for programmes designed to aid adaptation of immigrants.

It has been observed, as well, that the period of migration to Montreal can result in social and cultural differences. Prior to the fifties, the Black community was very small and for the most part, was still located in Little Burgundy. There were few organizations and Black people of all nationalities tended to belong to the same clubs and associations, mixed socially and appeared to be part of a single community.[17] Furthermore, ties to the home countries were different from what appears to be the case among more recent immigrants. Jet travel was not as cheap, relatively speaking, and the community was even less affluent than it is now. Many West Indians spent their entire lives in Montreal without ever returning to visit. For others, a visit "home" was a rare, once in a lifetime occurrence.

---

17 Don Handelman West Indian Associations in Montreal unpublished M.A. thesis. Department of Sociology, McGill University, Montreal, 1964. p.51-52

In the current era of charter flights, ABC fares and direct distance dialing, travel and communication with the home countries is much more frequent; and in the same way that it is easier for people to travel to the Caribbean, it is also easier to visit Canada, so that we have a greater and growing presence of Caribbean culture through visiting artists, availability of records, books and movies and even food. At the same time there is a sort of cross-fertilization, as the cultures of the various Caribbean nations meet on "foreign" soil, so to speak. Consequently, children born in Montreal now have the opportunity to develop a more positive sense of where it is their parents are from. Generally, the more recent immigrants from the Caribbean may be able to sustain an identity more easily than those who lived in the relative cultural isolation of this city during the thirties, forties and fifties. Moreover, it has been observed that some Black Canadians of Caribbean descent have been able to "rediscover" their "roots", developing an interest in the history, literature, music and cuisine of the area. Beyond this, some people who are particularly interested in culture, such as writers and those involved in the arts, have begun to speak of an Afro-Caribbean culture that transcends the national and linguistic boundaries of the region. These people go so far as to reject the term "West Indian" as being divisive with colonial overtones. (It is used in this paper for convenience familiarity and out of personal habit.)

In summary, the English-speaking Black population is primarily working class, culturally diverse, made up primarily of West Indians of more or less long term residency and Canadians of both Caribbean and old line Canadian background. Furthermore, that segment of the population that is immigrant has been here for ten years or more, with the last large wave of immigration occurring the sixties and early seventies. It is a community that has experinced change over the years, with a certain cultural vitaility and social activism being encouraged with large growth of the population during the sixties.

Chapter 3

NOTES ON ADAPTATION AND INTEGRATION

Ultimately, public bodies are interested in particular ethnic groups or other subgroups of the population out of concern for their relationship with the society as a whole. Obviously, several questions might be raised regarding the overall integration of this community into the mainstream of Quebec society.

Integration into the job market is a fundamental issue and it would be useful to know to what extent the community is affected by unemployment and in what age groups, as well as the degree to which people are employed at levels of skill and remuneration commensurate with their training. A related concern is the extent to which young people are becoming educated and trained. Are Black youth dropping out of high school at a higher or lower rate than in the past? What proportions of students are going on to CEGEP and university and are they studying the same range of disciplines as majority group students?

So far no systematic studies have been done on these issues as they concern Black people in the Montreal area. Evidence from other parts of Canada is conflicting.. However, the concerns expressed by some Black spokespeople[1] and the fact that groups such as the teachers have felt it

[1] Black Community Council of Quebec op.cit.

necessary to organize, indicate that an important segment of the community is dissatisfied.

It is the impression of many community workers that unemployment is considerably higher among Black people than it is in the general population. While some observers attribute part of the problem to a lack of skills and bilingualism, most are aware that the problems of unemployment and underemployment extend to educated, bilingual people. This problem was brought up at a recent conference of Barbadian associations in Canada held in Montreal. Local discussion leaders talked of the special situation of people who have reached age 30 without ever having held a full-time, permanent job, a phenemonon which appears to be becoming increasingly common. A year ago, the Black Community Council of Quebec described "growing feelings of entrapment, hopelessness, frustration and anger",[2] especially among young people, related to a perception of lack of opportunity.

It does not require an extensive survey to note the complete absence of English-speaking Blacks from whole sectors of the job market. This is particularly true for the public sector outside of the schools and hospitals. Black people are

---

[2] ibid p. 7

not seen in the offices of the federal and provincial government that deal with the public; this applies to relatively unskilled occupations such as clerks in the post office or cashiers in the outlets of the Société des Alcools. Painfully few young people are employed as salesclerks in stores, even in areas such as Cote des Neiges which have a high concentration of Black people. Many community workers have expended great amount of energy on police-community relations, which are recognized to be a serious problem. To date, no one from this community has been hired as a policeman, according to the most recent information available.

It should be noted that for a combination of reasons, the Black community has no significant business sector which might provide jobs to members of the community. Those businesses that do exist tend to be very small, such as corner stores, hairdressers etc. Thus, when jobs in the mainstream economy are denied, the results are acute. There is no alternative "minority" business sector to absorb those rejected by the larger society.

Education tends to be accorded considerable importance in any discussion of the integration of minorities. It is evident that young people's experiences in school will have long term effects on their lives as adults. Black children face a complex of problems in their interaction with the Quebec schools.

Students who arrive here from the Carribbean must adapt to a different school system with a very different classroom atmosphere. Even if their first school experience is in Quebec, they must engage in an emotional juggling act of balancing the behavioural expectations of the school authorities and Quebec classmates with those of their West Indian families. These problems were outlined in some detail in the report by Thornhill and Tardieu-Dehoux to the Conseil Supérieur d'Education.[3] In summary, West Indian society tends to encourage reserved, unagressive behaviour in children - behaviour which may be misinterpreted as shyness or even slowness of intellect in Canada. Classrooms there tend to be more structured, more authoritarian, less open than in Quebec and may not encourage as much discussion and active participation of the type that can be found in Quebec classrooms. The West Indian school operates "in loco parentis". The child is entrusted to the school and teacher completely and parents do not expect to have to involve

---

[3] Black Community Work Group on Education Final Report on the Aspirations and Expectations of the Quebec Black Community With Regard to Education. Montreal 1978p. 17-18

themselves in the running or overseeing of educational matters within the school itself. This approach seems to work well in the small, homogenous communities from which many West Indians come, in which parents and teachers hold the same social and disciplinary values and can act in each others' places.

The Black Canadian child faces a different set of adaptational problems. The dilemma of the Canadian Black children is not to adjust to change, but to maintain an emotional and psychological equilibrium favorable to educational achievement in an environment of racism that has begun to affect their psyches almost from birth. Black Canadian children grow up in an overwhelmingly white environment, watching TV and being exposed to books, movies, and toys that do not reflect their image. Unlike the children of the Carribbean, the Canadians see no Black people in positions of authority within the society - eg. police and firemen - have no role models and may not have been able to develop the sense of security that comes from feeling like a part of the society. If the parents are alienated and transmit their frustration and hopelessness, the damage is reinforced. Consequently, Black Canadian children may enter the school with what might be called a "syndrome of oppression" characterized by a lack of self-confidence and an emotional outlook that may be perceived by the authorities as a lack of ambition. Studies done of Black

students in Montreal have tended to confirm the reality of this process. In separate studies, Wills[4] and Ramharack[5] have shown that Black Canadian students have a poorer self-concept than do Black immigrant children. In particular, it appears that old-line Canadian Blacks somehow develop a specific disenchantment with education. Even among West Indian children, it was shown that educational aspiration tended to decrease with length of residence in Canada.[6]

The research available tends to suggest that Quebec schools have a destructive impact on Black children. In a study of Black students in a school in N.D.G., it was found that many were alienated by the curriculum, in which they saw no reflection of themselves. The question of curriculum is also discussed in the Tardieu-Dehoux-Thornhill report. The neglect of the role of Blacks in the founding and development of North America is found to undermine the ability of the Black child to identify with the educational process and of the White child to develop positive peer relations with Black children.

---

[4] Wills, Dorothy Self-Concept and Educational and Occupational Aspirations of Immigrant and New Immigrant Black Youth in Montreal. Phd. thesis.Dept. of Education. Concordia Univ. Montreal,

[5] in Black Community Work Group on Education op.cit. p25

[6] ibid p.30

The BCWGE presented several recommendations in their final report, among them, the creation of an Office of Ethnic Services and the training of teachers in some sort of multicultural sensitivity and modification of the curriculum to more accurately reflect the presence of Blacks and other minorities.[7]

One of the community initiatives developed in response to the serious problems of Black children in the schools was the creation of the Quebec Board of Black Educators in 1969. After the presentation of documented evidence, the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal acknolwedged that its handling of Black students, teachers and would-be teachers had been less than satisfactory and agreed to a series of reforms, including the creation of the post of Black Liason Officer. The Officer maintains links between the Board and the community and is involved in the evaluation of Black students entering the system or being considered for placement in slow streams. While the PSBGM has the highest concentration of English-speaking Black people in the province, the problems it was involved with are not unique, nor, presumably, should be the solutions.

---

[7] ibid p.59-61

No discussion of any minority in Quebec can overlook the question of linguistic adaptation. There is no hard evidence available that can give a clear picture of the linguistic adaptation of the community in the face of the ongoing francization of the province. The most visible groups to be directly touched by language legislation were the nurses and related professionals who, along with other nonfrancophones, had difficulty passing the language tests of the Office de la Langue Française. However, these tests have been changed and it may be too soon to comment upon this.

It is difficult to assess the level of bilingualism in the community. Some segments have found themselves forced to become functionally bilingual very quickly - eg. the nurses. Some community leaders deplore the failure of the English language schools to produce bilingual graduates and estimate that the vast majority of the population is unilingually English-speaking. On the other hand, many Blacks have grown up in St.Henri, LaSalle, or the South Shore, in areas that are predominantly French-speaking and have become bilingual in their neighbourhoods. It is the impression of some people that the younger and more educated elements of the community tend to be more bilingual; most professionals have a high degree of bilingualism. However, the less educated may face a different situation.

They may not have been in school long enough to learn French in a formal manner and are often employed in jobs that involve no contact with the public or in small companies or institutions of an English-speaking character. In this context, their opportunities to use French regularly may be limited. In addition, it is doubtful that people whose education ended at or even before the high school level would have the cultural disposition, to say nothing of time and money, that would lead to enrolling in formal evening courses. At the same time, this is a group that when unemployed, is very seriously handicapped in the job market.

Whatever the details of the current situation, Black people always a minority in North America and even "minoritized" in the past in the colonial Caribbean, have been accustomed to adapting to a mainstream different from their own. Educators note that many Black parents had their children in French immersion long before the language legislation heightened overall awareness. Immigrants from the English-speaking Caribbean have traditionally been highly mobile and in the past have adapted linguitically in other situations - notably Panama and other parts of Latin America.

Whether or not the much-publicized "exodus" of English-speaking Quebeckers is occurring the Black community as well is highly questionable. Many people are forced to migrate with their jobs when companies relocate but community leaders do not

list out-migration as their primary concern. The attitude toward linguistic change is primarily one of fear that yet another pretext will be found to separate Black people from jobs. Any anxiety regarding francisation can and should be understood, therefore, in the context of high unemployment in a community of wage-earners who experience job discrimination regularly and who perceive restricted possibilities for employment and advancement regardless of their qualifications.

It is the impression of this writer that the English-speaking Black community has a rather specific situation with regard to linguistic adaptation that is not necessarily identical to that of the larger English-speaking community. It is, perhaps, another possible area for research.

To summarize, statistics would be invaluable in assessing the integration and adaptation of the various segments of the English-speaking Black population of the province. Nevertheless, without this data, it is evident that there are problems in employment and education in particular. There are also complaints regarding immigration, with many families unable to have a relative come for a visit. Police harassment has been a chronic problem with the Black community and the larger community organizations maintain communication with police authorities.

It is significant that government bodies appear to be becoming increasingly concerned by what is perceived to be growing racial tension across Canada. In fact, a recent study conducted by the federal Ministry of Multiculturalism is reported to have found that 50% of the members of visible minorities in Montreal were pessimistic about their future in the coutry and suggested that they had resigned themselves to becoming second class citizens. A majority of Montreal respondents indicated that racism is on the rise, citing the recession as a factor.[8]

---

[8] Montreal Gazette May 28, 1983

Chapter 4

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

Over the years, many organizations, institutions and associations have become established in the community. Their goals are variously educational, political, economic or recreational. Not every association in the community can be described in a paper of this scope, but this chapter will look at the largest, most active groups, especially those involved in providing services to the community, describing their historical background and their principle activities.

Union United Church

The role of the churches in the Black community cannot be described in terms of participation in a particular sect of Christianity or average attendance. Throughout North America, Black churches have played a major role in leadership and service to the community. Leaders battling for civil liberties have come from the churches. In the days before government welfare programs, they provided social services. Finally, the Black churches have been traditionally controlled from within the community, financially dependent on the contributions of the community being served.

Thus, the identifying characteristic of the Black church is not so much denomination, but its role in the community, its social and cultural character. In fact, the Black Protestant churches are of essentially the same range of denominations as the mainstream churches.

In Montreal, the largest and oldest Black church is Union United Church situated on Delisle and Atwater in the old "Black District". It had its beginnings at the turn of the century when members of the Black commmunity began to talk of organizing a Black congregation. They wanted to develop a religious institution which would serve their need for community among Blacks and enable them to worship in a 'Black cultural atmosphere. Black people were ostensible free to worship in white churches, but hostility was encountered.[1] Oral tradition holds that some churches forced Black people to sit in the balcony only, or abide by some other segregated arrangements. There are also stories of Black people being asked to attend services in a different neighbourhood.

---

[1]Deniece, Paula Alienation and Resistence: The political behaviour of Afro-Canadians R&C Rearch Associates: Palo Alto 1979

Leo Berteley provides a detailed account of the development of Union Church[2]. On July 29, 1907, a formal decision to found a Black church was made by a small group of Black Montrealers. A constitution was drawn up on August 29 of that year and the name chosen was Union Congregational Church. The first service was held on September 1, 1907 in Welsh Hall in the Little Burgundy district. It later had homes in Olive Baptist Church at Mountain and Osborne and the American Presbyterian Mission on Inspector St. before finally moving to its present location on Delisle in 1916.

Early in its history, Union Church was involved in the organization of the United Church of Canada which brought together the Presbyterian, Congregationalist and Methodist denominations. After a period of controversy, the membership voted to become part of the United Church of Canada in 1923. Many had feared a loss of identity and preferred to join with the African Methodist Episcopal organization - a Black U.S. - based denomination that had many adherents in Ontario and Nova Scotia. In the end, joining the United Church of Canada enabled the solution of some serious financial problems and the fears of loss of identity proved to be unfounded.

Many ministers served the Church in its early years. Most came from the United States. By far the longest ministry, and the one that molded to a large degree the character of the

---

2 Berteley Leo, Montreal's oldest Blac Congregation, Bilongo, Publishers, Pierrefonds, 1976

institution, was that of Reverend Charles Este, who took up his post in March 1923 and did not retire until 1968. Reverend Este, affectionately known in the community as "rev", became a community leader in the tradition of Black Church leaders. He helped members of the community find jobs, arranged relief for the destitute, especially during the Depression, intervened in immigration cases, organized educational and recreational activities and spoke out on issues involving the community's civil liberties. During World War II, he formally protested the Navy's discrimination against would-be Black recruits. He was instrumental in the founding of other organizations, notably, the Negro Community Centre.

In 1968, Reverend Frank Gabourel took over the ministry and continued, in many ways, in the tradition of Reverend Este, speaking out on issues of civil liberties, discrimination and other social problems. One of the characteristics that marked his ministry was an awakening of interest among young people. The Montreal Black Community Youth Choir was established during his tenure with his cooperation and encouragement. During the seventies, Union Church had the highest proportion of active members aged 18 to 25 among churches in the Montreal area.

At present, Union Church is led by Reverend E. Leicester Bigby and has an active membership of approximately 550. In addition to the usual activities related to religious worship, there are several programs involving the community at large.

The Outreach Programme is run by a social worker from the community. Counselling and advocacy are provided for a variety of groups, including single mothers, unemployed youth and people having difficulties with immigration authorities. There is a visiting and home care programme for the elderly as well as a job cooperative which helps young people find odd jobs. Vocational counselling is provided. In addition, a group of single mothers meets regularly for discussion and outings. Through the Outreach social worker, contacts and working relationship are maintained with schools, manpower and immigration and the municipal housing office to name only a few agencies.

The Black Community Youth Choir was originally founded for young people between 16 and 25. Under the direction of Trevor Payne, a Montreal musician and music professors, the Choir became one of the best-known yough Choirs in the country. In addition to the standard classical repertoire, they mastered Black gospel music, a unique form of religious music characterized by some improvisation, strong solo performances and injection of emotion. The Youth choir has been credited with sparking the interest of young people in the Church. It has travelled in both the United States adn Canada and has recorded two albums.

The Church also awards scholarships to young people. Approximately twelve students per year receive awards from the Rev. Dr. Charles Este Memorial Bursaries. Emergency assistance of about $2000 is also provided.

Emergency food supplies are often distributed. They are primarily used by welfare recipients who often run out of funds towards the end of the month.

Many community groups use the facilities of the Church for meetings and social gatherings.

In 1982, Union Church celebrated its 75th anniversary with special anniversary activities throughout the year.

Negro Community Centre

Over the years, many community groups and organizations have had their origin in Union Church. The largest of them is the Negro Community Centre, founded in 1928 by Reverend Este and other community leaders who felt that another institution was needed in addition to the Church to work in community organization and social services. The Centre was headquartered in Union Church until 1954, when it moved to its present location on Coursol.

During the seventies the NCC expanded its services and now, in addition to the main facility on Coursol street in Little Burgundy, neighbourhood branches have been established in LaSalle, NDG and Cote des Neiges.

Annually, approximately 50,000 people participate in NCC activities or use its services or facilities. Last year (1981-82), the most heavily used services were Daycare, cultural activities such as music lessons, ballet classes and drama as well as sports and fitness classes.

A program for Community Elders organizes discussion groups and outings for senior citizens in the different neighbourhoods. Adult French classes are given downtown and in Cote des Neiges as well as fitness classes and other special interest activities.

Individual counselling and assistance were provided for people involved in immigration problems, with children having difficulties in school for the unemployed, people in questionable work situations etc. Over 680 of these cases were handled last year. A new legal aid program was implemented in 1983.

Finally, many community groups use the Centre's facilities for meetings and special events. Last year at least ten such groups with a total membership of 1500 used the Centre regularly.

The A[illegible]can, a monthly newspaper is published by the Negro Community Centre. It features news of the Montreal Black Community and includes a complete calendar of community events. The newspaper is available free of charge from various outlets.

The Centre has a library with an important collection of literature of the Black World. The Stanley Clyke Memorial Library features Black literary works as well as books dealing with history, sociology, and political science of Black societies. Their collection of Black Canadian History is unique in the city.

The NCC regularly invites speakers, groups, holds film showings and arranges a variety of other special events each year, enabling contact with the rest of the Black world. Last year, high school students visited from Trinidad to participate in a dance and drama presentation. An Atlanta city councillor gave the community an update on the trafic events in that city's Black community. A netball team visited from Great Britain. Speakers visited from Great Britain and South Africa to inform Montrealers on the progress of the struggles against racism in their respective countries.

The Centre is funded by several sources, both private and public, but the largest block of funding at this time is from Centraide.

Black Community Council of Quebec

The B.C.C.Q. is an umbrella organization of seven community groups. These are the N.D.G. Black Community Association, the LaSalle Black Community Association, The Côte des Neiges Black Community Association, the Quebec Board of Black Educators, the Black Studies Centre, the Black Theatre Workshop, and the Afro-Canadian Citizens Enhancement Society.

The NDG, LaSalle and Côte des Neiges community associations provide a variety of social, cultural and recreational activities for residents of their areas. Due to a period of re-organization, it appears that the programs offered by these groups have not been as extensive as in the past.

The Black Studies Centre was founded in 1973 and is primarily oriented towards research and public education on issues involving Black people. It is in the process of developing a small library and has on hand many papers and studies done by and about Blacks in Canada.

The Black Theatre Workshop is a professional theatre group that regularly presents plays and others forms of live theatre. Their productions include works by Black playwrights and others to provide a variety of cultural expression that has often received critical claim from all sectors of the Montreal cultural community.

A.C.C.E.S. is a youth organization that was formed two years ago. Among its goals is the provision of leadership training to young people.

Quebec Board of Black Educators

The Q.B.B.E is an organization of teachers, parents and community members primarily concerned with the experiences of Black children in the public school system. Because of the distribution of Black students within Quebec's linguistically and religiously divided school system, most of their work has been with the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal.

For generations, Black students had been experiencing difficulties in the schools that could be traced to prejudice, discriminatory practices and insensitivity on the part of administrators and teachers in addition to problems of adaptation to a new society. One of the most serious manifestations of these problems was the gross over-representation of Black children in the dead-end educational streams whose "graduates" could not proceed to any form of higher education. Even among those Black children who took regular academic courses, a tiny proportion went on to university. As well, a disturbingly large number of disaffected and discouraged students were dropping out of high school. In response to this ongoing situation, and presumably, in the general spirit of activism that characterized the period, a group of Black parents and

teachers began meetings which eventually resulted in the founding of the Quebec Board of Black Educators in 1969. At this point, with a rapidly increasing percentage of Black students in its schools, the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal recognized the existence of serious problems.

The QBBE worked with the PSBGM and several reforms and innovations were instituted. The post of Black Liaison Officer was created in the early seventies. This officers acts as a liaison between the PSBGM , Black parents and students and maintains links and communication between the school board and the community. The officer also acts as a consultant in cases of Black children involved in evaluation, counselling, and placement in special programs. A crucial change has been the requirement that no Black student may be placed in "slow stream" programmes without the prior consultation of the liaison officer.

A major activity of the QBBE is the annual summer school program. The Da Costa Hall summer school is for high school students and provides an overview of the regular high school curriculum as well as a special program of Black history and related topics. The BANA program is a day camp operated

in conjunction with other groups of the BCCQ for elementary age children. It provides a part-time academic program along with recreation. The Da Costa Hall program receives an average of 450 students per summer while BANA has had approximately 800 students per summer. During the regular school year, QBBE provides tutoring and other special help for children having difficulties.

Black Community Communications Media

The BCCM was originally founded in 1970 as the Black Youth Television Workshop. It has worked in conjunction with Cable TV's community channel, using their production facilities. This was made possible by a CRTC requirement that this station provide community programming. In 1976, the Youth Workshop incorporated as BCCM and has become less concerned primarily with training of youth and more oriented toward providing community communications services.

The primary activity of this group is the production of the television program Black Is. This is seen on both of Montreal's cable networks. It is a magazine programme that features general news from a Black perspective, Black arts and culture, personality profiles and local information.

The BCCM also produces a radio program, Black Speaks which is aired on Friday evenings and Saturday afternoons on Radio Centreville, the community radio station broadcasting with downtown Montreal.
The group serves as something of a communications resource centre in the community and is present at most major community events.

There are innumerable other associations in the Black community serving a variety of needs. One large group is constituted by the national associations of the different Carribbean nations from which people have migrated.
The limitations of this profile made it impossible to reach every single one of these associations, many of which have no offices, operating out of members' homes.
In addition, large countries like Jamaica are represented by more than one national association. Two of the larger groups are described here in order to give a perspective of the kinds of activities in which national associations may be engaged.

Jamaican Association of Montreal

This association was founded in 1962 and has approximately 150 active members. The group offers help to newly arrived immigrants, giving advice in job hunting, social service information and providing other types of counselling to families in difficulty. Free French classes are held at their facilites on Decarie Boulevard. The group holds fund-raising events several times a year which permit it to donate to charities both locally and in Jamaica. They are also able to help distressed people in Montreal, such as fire victims. The Association provides a distribution centre in the event of disasters such as floods or hurricanes in Jamaica.

In the absence of a trade commission in Montreal, the Association distributes passport forms, distributes releases from the Jamaican government and generally acts as an "unofficial embassy".

During the last week-end in July, it has become a tradition to hold a Jamaica Day in Kent Park, inthe Cote des Neiges district. The Day falls fairly close to Jamaican Independence Day and Emancipation Day (August 1 and August 6, respectively) and features games, cultural displays, Jamaican cuisine, music and folk-dancing.

The Association publishes a newsletter four times a year.

Barbados House

Barbados House has approximately 250 active members. This association offers a number of activities and programs for all segments of the community.

On Saturday mornings over 100 students attend classes in French, English and mathematics. The classes are taught by certified teachers on a volunteer basis. An over-fifties group meets regularly and provides services to senior citizens such as a regular phone call to people confined to their homes, assistant in shopping, provision of transportation to medical services, etc.

Other activites include a drama group for young people, team sports, such as floor hockey and volleyball, and games such as dominoes.

They provide assistance in situations of crisis, eg. fire victims and occasionally receive referrals from social service agencies.

Cultural exchanges with youth from other ethnic groups are arranged as well as activities with other Barbadian associations in North America. The Association awards scholarships to CEGEP and University students active in the community.

This section on community organizations is by no means exhaustive. Many other groups exist in the community involved in special interest activities or with small memberships. To describe all of the associations in detail would be another major undertaking.

Some of the smaller groups include the Coloured Women's Club, a 80 year old organization that pre-exists most women's clubs in Canada. It is primarily a charitable organization whose members are especially well-known in the part of the community that has been settled in the city for a longer time.

The Congress of Black Women is an organization founded in 1972 which has been active in issues of civil liberties and education. It was this group that was instrumental in obtaining decisive action from the Ministry of Education regarding racist stories in the school text, La Lecture sous Toutes ces Formes.

The Quebec Black Historical Society was founded in 1980 and has been looking at the early history of Blacks in the province and recording the experiences of older members of the community who arrived in the early part of the century.

A Black Literary Society meets in the Stanley Clyke Library to read discuss Black literary works.

A Black Business and Professionals' Association was formed in the past year and it has already held a Career Day to help orient young people. There is an Association of Black Social Workers. Many CEGEPS and Universities have Black students' associations. The Black and Third World Students' organization of Dawson College is an active group that is an integral part of the CEGEP.

In summary, the English-speaking Black community of Montreal is active and involved in many areas. Many organizations exist which try to provide a variety of services and fill different needs. The largest and most influential have been described in some detail as well as a sampling of some other smaller groups.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Amarteifio, Amarteorkor B. One Third Black; Melting Pot or Isolationism: A study of the Integration of Blacks In NDG Schools. Unpublished research report. School of Social Work. McGill University, Montreal. 1975

   As the title indicates, this is a study of social and academic adjustment of Black students in several schools in the NDG area of Montreal.

2. Berteley, Leo Canada and Its People of African Descent Bilongo Publisher, Pierrefonds, 1977

   A popular history of Black people in Canada from the earliest periods. Includes illustrations and archival photographs.

3. Berteley, Leo Montreal's Oldest Black Congregation Bilongo Publishers, Pierrefonds, 1976

   A history of Union United Church.

4. Black Community Council of Quebec Profile of the Black Community in Quebec Submission to the Ministry of Multiculturalism, Montreal, February 1982

   A programme proposal by the Council to the Ministry of Multiculturalism. Includes discussion of some of the problems facing the community and proposed guidelines for dealing with the problems.

5. Black Community Work Group on Education., Esmeralda Thornhill and Charles Tardieu-Dehoux, eds. Final Report on the Aspirations and Expectations of the Quebec Black Community with Regard to Education. Montreal, 1978

   Submission to the Comité d'Etude sur les Affaires Interconfessionnelles et Interculturelles du Conseil Supérieur de l'Education. A thorough analysis of public education and the Black community, both English and French-speaking. Thoroughly researched. Prepared by key actors in education in the Black community. The most complete research available to on Montreal's Black community. Deals with immigrant adaptation, teacher attitudes, special problems of Black Canadians, the role of Creoles and patois, differing cultural perceptions and evaluation. comparison of Quebec and Caribbean school systems.

6. Canada. Statistics Canada. 1981 Census of Canada.

7. International and Interprovincial Migration in Canada

8. Ministry of Immigration and Citizenship. Immigration Statistics: 1956-1965

Statistics on migration and ethnicity. For purposes of this paper, statistics going back to 1900 were consulted.

9. Deniece, Paula Alienation and Resistance: The political Behaviour of Afro-Canadians R&C Research Associates: Palo Alto, 1979.

An examination of attitudes of Black people in Canada toward political involvement and change. Based on interviews with relatively small groups, but with a broad cross-section of the community. Interviews in Toronto, Montreal and Halifax. The interview technique does give insight personal reactions and attitudes of Black people from varying socio-economic and cultural backgrounds.

10. Greaves, Ida The Negro in Canada McGill University Economic Studies, McGill University, Montreal, 1930.

A social and economic analysis of the Black population in Canada at the time, with some historical background.

11. Handelman, Don. West Indian Associations in Montreal unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of Sociology, McGill University, Montreal 1964

An analysis of group life of West Indian residents of Montreal through analysis of several community organizations. Gives insight into relations between nationals of different countries, social class dynamics and relations between Blacks from the West Indies and Canada.

12 Henry, Frances Forgotten Canadians: The Blacks of Nova Scotia Longman Canada Ltd. Don Mills, 1973

An ethnographic description of several Black communities in Nova Scotia. Anthropological methods were used. There is also some information regarding the economic integration of Blacks in Nova Scotia as well as historical background. May be valuable for the understanding of cultural roots of an often over-looked segment of Montreal's Black population. However, some dispute her conclusions about the existence of Black culture in Nova Scotia.

13. Hill, Daniel G. The Freedom-Seekers: Blacks in Early Canada Book Society of Canada Ltd., Agincourt, 1981

The history of Canadian Blacks from first settlement to end of 19th century. Many detailed descriptions of personalities and families. Photographs. Emphasis on Ontario and Nova Scotia.

14. Israel, Wilfred The Montreal Negro Community unpublished M.A. thesis. Department of Sociology, McGill University. Montreal, 1928

A fairly detailed description of the Black community of Montreal as it existed in the 1920's.

15. Kubat, Daniel & Thornton, David. A Statistical Profile of Canadian Society. McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd. Toronto, 1974

As title indicates - demographic information to 1971.

16. Marcil, Claude "Les Communautés Noires au Québec", Education Québec Vol 11, No.5, April 1981

A journalistic overview.

17. Marrett, Eileen Evaluation of Systematic Instruction to Aid West Indian Students. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of Education, Concordia University, Montreal, 1967.

A study of the role of variants of English spoken by West Indian students in academic success, with evaluation of methods to overcome problems.

18. Potter, Harold. The Occupation Adjustment of Montreal Negroes: 1941-48. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of Sociology, McGill University, Montreal, 1949.

An analysis of occupation change in Montreal among Black people during a period of relative mobility.

19. Potter, Harold & Hill, Daniel. "Negro Settlement in Canada, 1628 - 1965: A Survey.", the Negro Submission to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. Montreal, 1966

A brief history of the period indicated. Includes a chapter on Montreal.

20. Quebec. Ministère des Communautés Culturelles et de l'Immigration. Bulletin Statistique Annuel, 1979.

Immigration statistics from 1974.

21. Spray, W.A. The Blacks in New Brunswick Brunswick Press; Fredericton 1972

History and description of New Brunswick Blacks from 17th century to the contemporary era.

22. Thornhill, Esmeralda. Race and Class in Canada: the Case of Blacks in Quebec, presentation to the National Council for Black Studies VI Annual Conference, Chicago, 1982.

A discussion of the problems of racism faced by the Quebec Black community and of the efficacy of existing legislation in combatting them.

23. _____,"Tintin au Zaire? - Tintin au Congo à la loupe: Comparaison de Tintin au Congo". Journal and Bulletin of the Canadian Alliance of Black Educators. Vol 2, No's 1 & 2, p. 14-25.

Analysis of racism in a popular educational tool in Quebec.

24. Trudel, Marcel. L'Esclavage au Canada Français, Presses Universitaires Laval, Québec, 1960.

A complete analysis of the institution of slavery has it existed from the 17th to 19th centuries.Includes details on the ownership of slaves by prominent families.

25. Walker, James W. St.G. A History of Blacks in Canada: A Study Guide for Teachers and Students. Minister of State, Multiculturalism, Hull, 1980.

A complete guide for the development of curricula on Black Canadians from the 17th century to modern times. Detailed references, bibliographic discussion and suggestions for classroom discussion.

26. Wills, Dorothy. Self-Concept and Educational and Occupational Aspirations of Immigrant and New Immigrant Black Youth in Montreal. PhD. dissertation. Concordia University, Montreal,

As title indicates, a study of self-concept and aspirations of Black high school students.

27. Winks, Robin W. The Blacks in Canada. McGill-Queens University Press, Montreal, 1971.

Complete scholarly work. History of Blacks in Canada from earliest settlement to approximately 1970. Detailed information on all parts of Canada. So far, the only major reference of this nature.

28. Forsythe, Dennis ed. Let the Niggers Burn Black Rose Books; Montreal, 1971

A series of essays dealing with the February 11, 1969 students protest at Sir George Williams Univesity with discussion of the effects, both locally and in the Caribbean. All of the essays are written by West Indians, many of them students who were involved in the protest.

29. D'Oyley, Vincent ed. The Black Presence in Multi-Ethnic Canada Centre for the Study of Curriculum and Instruction, Faculty of Education, University of British Columbia, Vancouver and Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto, 1976

A compilation of papers presented at the Windsor Synposium of the same name held in Windsor, Ontario. Papers are on many topics such as multiculturalism, education, the role of the church etc. Participation in this symposium was from across Canada.